their place in the coming decades, they are bound between funding realities and the quickly changing global situations we need them to monitor ever more astutely. Their leadership surely knows that to do this, any mere perpetuation of vested bureaucratic interests can no longer justify them. Circumstances are compelling them to thoughtfully chart their future. They must now navigate with the compass of a clear, overarching, well-articulated, and broadly understood vision of what they will be and what they will do to serve national security. They recognize that their success at relating their means to that end is the standard by which we ultimately will judge them.

My colleagues, can we fairly ask less of ourselves? I submit there is a lesson in some of this for how we carry out our own tasks in foreign affairs and national security. As is true for our intelligence agencies, our efforts must rise above our own bureaucracy. We must look beyond the affiliations and vested interests that are poised to cast us about without aim, reduce our successes, invite failures, trap us. So for us too, the context of our foreign policy pursuit can only be—must be—our larger, enduring goals. These are what unite us as one country. I submit that bipartisanship is absolutely essential to furthering those goals and attaining those attributes that make us one.

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm CONGRESSIONAL} \ \ {\rm ACCOUNTABILITY} \\ {\rm ACT} \end{array}$

HON. SHEILA JACKSON-LEE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, January 20, 1995

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation. We all agree that Congress can no longer exempt itself from the legislation it passes. Compliance with such legislation by the rest of this Nation's citizens is mandatory. This congressional body moved forward to pass H.R. 1 on the opening day of legislative business for the 104th Congress by an overwhelming vote of 429 yeas. Now we are left to consider the Senate-passed version of this same bill. What a great opportunity for reform.

But do not let the Republican leadership fool you into thinking that the Congressional Accountability Act is a pillar of Republican reform. As a freshman Member, I must continually do my homework. I am fully aware that this reform effort was attempted in the 103d Congress. This legislation passed the House but was held up by the Republicans in the Senate. Why would the Senate block passage of this legislation in the 103d and pass it without reservation in the 104th? Because they did not want President Clinton to sign this reform into law, giving Democrats the credit for reform-oriented policies. We now know that the Republicans were working hard for 2 years to build a platform for the 1994 mid-term elections by halting action on important pieces of legislation in the Senate. Let us give credit to good ideas where credit is due.

And while we are revisiting this corrective measure, why not look more closely at a provision the Senate has added for itself concerning frequent flier miles? This issue has not received enough attention from this congressional body. I urge further dialog and consideration of these reform measures as well.

SUBMISSION OF BIPARTISAN BAL-ANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT FOR PRINTING

HON. DAN SCHAEFER

OF COLORADO

HON. CHARLES W. STENHOLM

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 20, 1995

Mr. SCHAEFER. Mr. Speaker, in anticipation of the debate on the balanced budget amendment next week, we are submitting the text of House Joint Resolution 28, the bipartisan, bicameral balanced budget amendment that we have introduced with 143 other Members, to be printed in the RECORD for Members to review. House Joint Resolution 28 is identical to Senate Joint Resolution 1 introduced by Senate Majority Leader BOB DOLE. We are submitting our language both in the form of a substitute to House Joint Resolution 1, the balanced budget amendment reported by the House Judiciary Committee—authored by Representative SCHAEFER—and as a freestanding bill—House Joint Resolution 28.

This language is the product of years of hard work by numerous Members of the House and Senate on both sides of the aisle. Senator LARRY CRAIG had an instrumental role in developing this amendment when he was a Member of the House, and continues to play a leadership role in the Senate. Former Representatives Bob Smith of Oregon, Tom Carper, Jon Kyl, Jim Moody, Olympia Snowe, Jim Inhofe, as well as current House Members JOE KENNEDY, MIKE CASTLE, L.F. PAYNE, and NATHAN DEAL have made contributions to the effort. On the Senate side, Senators ORRIN HATCH and PAUL SIMON have provided leadership on this amendment. Senators STROM THURMOND, PHIL GRAMM, HOWELL HEFLIN, and PETE DOMENICI, as well as former Senator Dennis DeConcini have also been actively involved in developing this amendment.

The amendment has been improved over the years based on the advice of constitutional scholars, budget experts, other Members of Congress, and others. Changes were made in the amendment to address criticisms that were raised in the numerous hearings on the amendment. This review process has produced an amendment that is workable, flexible, and enforceable.

House Joint Resolution 28 meets the constitutional standards of simplicity and support by a broad consensus of the American public. It would require the President to submit and Congress to enact a balanced budget beginning in 2002, unless three-fifths of both Houses vote to authorize a deficit. A threefifths vote would be required to raise the debt limit. The amendment would make it more difficult to raise taxes by requiring a constitutional majority to pass bills increasing taxes. The amendment would be waived in the event of a declared war, and could be waived in the event of a military conflict that posed an imminent and serious threat to national security. The amendment would allow Congress to use estimates in planning budgets, but would require a balance of actual outlays against actual receipts.

We understand that Rules Committee Chairman GERALD SOLOMON has indicated that the

Rules Committee report a rule bringing House Joint Resolution 1 to the floor under a "queen of the hill" process in which the substitute that receives the most votes in the Committee of the Whole would be reported to the House. For this reason, Representative SCHAEFER is submitting the text of the bipartisan, bicameral amendment in the form of a substitute. We understand the Rules Committee may also consider reporting a rule that provides for consideration of House Joint Resolution 1 and House Joint Resolution 28 as separate freestanding bills. This process would ensure clean votes on both proposals without forcing Members to choose between two popular amendments and maximize the chances of passing a balanced budget amendment. In this event, we are submitting the text of House Joint Resolution 28.

We look forward to the debate on the balanced budget amendment next week. We encourage all members to participate in this debate and vote to send the balanced budget amendment to the Senate and the States.

H.J. RES. 28

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years after the date of its submission to the States for ratification:

ARTICLE -

SECTION 1.—Total outlays for any fiscal year shall not exceed total receipts for that fiscal year, unless three-fifths of the whole number of each House of congress shall provide by law for a specific excess of outlays over receipts by a rollcall vote.

SECTION 2.—The limit on the debt of the United States held by the public shall not be increased, unless three-fifths of the whole number of each House shall provide by law for such an increase by a rollcall vote.

SECTION 3.—Prior to each fiscal year, the President shall transmit to the Congress a proposed budget for the United States Government for that fiscal year, in which total outlays do not exceed total receipts.

SECTION 4.—No bill to increase revenue shall become law unless approved by a majority of the whole number of each House by a rollcall vote.

SECTION 5.—The Congress may waive the provisions of this article for any fiscal year in which a declaration of war is in effect. The provisions of this article may be waived for any fiscal year in which the United States is engaged in military conflict which causes an imminent and serious military threat to national security and is so declared by a joint resolution, adopted by a majority of the whole number of each House, which becomes law.

Section 6.—The Congress shall enforce and implement this article by appropriate legislation, which may rely on estimates of outlays and receipts.

SECTION 7.—Total receipts shall include all receipts of the United States Government except those derived from borrowing. Total outlays shall include all outlays of the United States Government except for those for repayment of debt principal.

SECTION 8.—this article shall take effect beginning with fiscal year 2002 or with the second fiscal year beginning after its ratification, whichever is later.